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Inside
PALESTINE'S SOWETO

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Editorial Editorial Editorial

IN THIS ISSUE

FORUM

Gaza: The Other Soweto (interview with Shawwa)
Absent from Nairobi J. Masterson
The Quiet Revolution Moshe Hazani

PLO NEWS

Arafat Addresses Washington Conference
Open University
Khalaf on Palestinian Affairs

LIFE UNDER OCCUPATION

By Hook or Crook (Analysis)
Journalists Appeal for Freedom
Israeli "Higher" Education
Discrimination Against Arab Workers

WASHINGTON WATCH

Protagonist or Peacemaker? (Commentary)
Professor Purged from SUNY
Crockett Assails Repression

WORLD VIEW

Nonaligned Resolution
Swedish Solidarity
Christian Peace Conference

BACK COVER

Both Hands in the Cookie Jar

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ISRAEL RIDES THE WAVES

Rabin Claims Right to Piracy

Israel's Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin claimed for the Israeli navy the "right" to board and seize vessels on the high seas. He said, in a statement on 2 September 1985, that Israel has this "right" throughout the Mediterranean.

Rabin's statement was made to defend the Israeli seizure of the *Gandha*, a yacht operated by a Greek and a British national, on its way from Cyprus to Lebanon. The yacht, which the Israelis seized off the coast of Sidon, was said to be carrying 21 Palestinian fighters. The Israelis, who claimed that the fighters were being sent to Lebanon to attack Israel, failed to explain why the Palestinians are importing fighters instead of using fighters already in Lebanon.

The seizure of the *Gandha* was the second Israeli act of piracy in one week. On 31 August, Israeli naval units patrolling the shores of Lebanon seized another private yacht, operated by an American and an Australian, also on its way from Cyprus. Both vessels were seized away from Israel's territorial waters. In the past, Israel has frequently intercepted shipping to Lebanon and seized boats, but this is the first time that a senior government member publicly declares it to be Israeli policy to engage in piracy in international waters.

Rabin included in his announcement a verbal assault on the PLO and its chairman Yasser Arafat, whom he said was personally responsible for increasing Palestinian armed resistance to the Israeli occupation. Israeli leaders, including Prime Minister Shimon Peres, have also warned Jordan against allegedly allowing the PLO to rebuild its presence there. Some Israeli leaders, particularly cabinet minister Ariel Sharon, have been demanding the resumption of Israeli air strikes against Jordan.

It is obvious that Israel, to justify its sabotage of the peace process, wants to create the impression that the PLO and Jordan prefer violent to political means to deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict. It has been disturbed by recent U.S. admission that the PLO and Jordan have made meaningful concessions to facilitate the peace process, and it is fearful of possible U.S. demand that Israel should reciprocate.

Israel has always benefited from a warlike atmosphere in the region. Such an atmosphere triggers instinctive support mechanisms which override other concerns, especially among American Zionists. It is not a coincidence that Rabin chose to make his announcement to a group of visiting American-Jewish fundraisers in Jerusalem. □

M. Hallaj

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GAZA: THE OTHER SOWETO

Interview with Rashad Shawwa

[Rashad Shawwa, the mayor of Gaza, was dismissed from office by the Israeli military authorities, as were the mayors of most Palestinian cities and towns in the occupied territories. In the following interview, conducted in London on 20 May 1985, he talks about conditions in the occupied Gaza Strip. The interview was conducted by Mr. Hussein al-Kurdi, of the San Diego-based News International]:

Q: *How did you come to be the mayor of Gaza, and what were the circumstances of your dismissal?*

A: When the Israelis occupied the Gaza Strip in 1967, they refused to hold municipal elections. On the other hand, we refused to accept appointment by Israel. A compromise was found: ten thousand taxpayers from Gaza signed a petition asking me to accept the position of mayor, and the Israelis wanted me to take the post. I told them that I had to consult with the PLO leadership, because they are our representatives.

When the PLO approved, I became mayor of Gaza. That was in 1971. Two years later, the Israeli military commander of the Gaza Strip wanted me to integrate the Beach refugee camp into the Gaza municipality. I refused because by absorbing the refugee camps into neighboring towns and cities the Israelis wanted to liquidate the refugee question and to give the false impression that the issue has been resolved. Consequently, they dismissed me from office in 1973.

In 1975, the people of Gaza again asked me to resume the mayorship. The Israelis were unable to find anyone else to take the position, so they contacted me and asked me to return. They rescinded their dismissal order, and I was reinstated as mayor of Gaza. I remained mayor until 1982, when the military governor dismissed me again when I refused his order not to contact the media. I felt I had the right to do so, because as the mayor of a large Palestinian city it was my duty to defend the rights of the people of the Gaza Strip.

Q: *How would you describe the conditions of life in Gaza under Israeli occupation?*

A: The past 18 years, since we fell under Israeli occupation in 1967, have been the worst years of our lives: we suffer from oppression, degradation, and we are denied our human rights. We cannot speak, write or think freely, and we are not allowed to participate in any political activity.

During the 18 years of occupation, Israel has tried to discourage Arab industry and agriculture. It has used the occupied territories as a captive market for its products. The occupied territories have become Israel's second largest export market after the United States. It sells over one billion dollars worth of products there annually. Moreover, Israel has turned the Gaza Strip into a cheap labor camp, very similar to what South Africa is doing in Soweto.

Israel does not allow citrus growers in the occupied territories to export to any of the foreign markets to which Israel sends its fruits. We are not allowed to export our citrus to Western Europe, our traditional market. Before the occupation, we used to export our citrus to England, France and Germany. At the same time, goods from Israel

flood the occupied territories while fruits and vegetables from the occupied territories are prohibited from sale in Israel.

Q: *What is the status of political organizations, trade unions and other social and cultural activities in Gaza under occupation?*

A: Israel forbids all political organizations. Labor unions are not allowed. Social organizations are bound by very strict rules, and they cannot do anything without prior written approval from the occupation authorities. The workers in the occupied territories get much lower wages from Israeli employers than do Israeli workers. The Israelis deduct various taxes from Arab workers, but they do not give them any benefits.

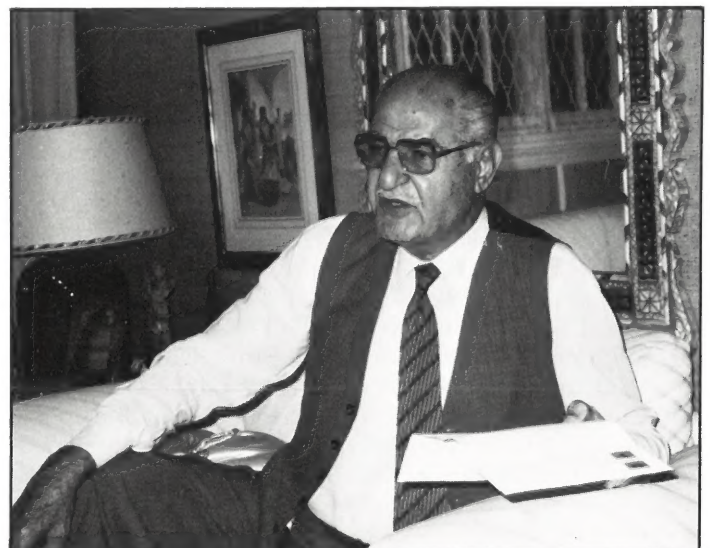
Q: *What restrictions do the Israelis impose on the entry of funds from abroad for the development of Palestinian cultural and educational institutions?*

A: Recently, Israeli authorities have allowed Palestinian institutions to receive money, provided a permit is obtained in advance. Such funds are brought in hard currency and paid in Israeli money. They are deposited in an Israeli bank at the inflated official price of the shekel, which is 33 per cent less than the free market world price. So, \$100 immediately shrinks to \$67. The other \$33 is in effect indirect taxation taken by Israel.

The standard of education is very low due to poor salaries paid to teachers. Teachers in the Gaza Strip are paid about one-third of a teacher's salary in Israel. Doctors have the same problem, and so qualified doctors leave and go to work elsewhere.

The Islamic University, the only institution of higher education in the Gaza Strip, is not recognized by Israel. It is not permitted to build facilities, even though it has the

(continued on page 3)



Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa

GAZA (continued from page 2)

funds to do so. Most of its 4,500 students are forced to study in temporary sheds. In the occupied territories, we are not allowed to build schools. We have been trying to establish a polytechnic institute in Gaza for the last ten years, but the Israeli authorities refuse to let us build it.

Q: *What is the current status of Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip?*

A: Israel builds settlements to make it impossible for the Palestinians to have their own state or even to manage their own affairs. It chooses strategic areas for settlements in order to make it impossible for Arab residents to contact each other without having to go through Jewish settlements.

The Gaza Strip is 360 square kilometers and has half a million people. Holland has a population density of 400 persons per square kilometers and is regarded as one of the most densely populated spots on earth. Yet the Gaza Strip has 1,400 inhabitants per square kilometer. Despite this, Israel has so far built 18 settlements, depriving the Palestinians of more and more of their land. Israel's money comes from the American taxpayers who are subsidizing Israeli aggression against us apparently without knowing.

Q: *You, and 40 other Palestinian figures from the West Bank and Gaza, recently directed U.S. envoy Richard Murphy to deal directly with the PLO in any future negotiations over peace in the area. You explained to him that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians. How do you assess the prospects for peace in the region?*

A: We, as Palestinians, have democratically chosen the PLO to act and speak on our behalf. We believe them to be our sole and legitimate representatives. We made this clear to Mr. Murphy and asked him to convey our ideas to the U.S. administration. We insist on our right to self-determination. The simplest expression of self-determination is the right to choose our own spokesmen. Israel has no right to impose on us someone to speak for us. □

ABSENT FROM NAIROBI

J. Masterson

Sameeha Khalil should not have been here! So it was with a tragic sense of the irony inherent in our good luck that we sat in her office in El Bireh, twin city to Ramallah in the West Bank in the territories under Israeli occupation, this the 11th of July, 1985.

Um Khalil, as she is called, is the biological mother of five children but far better known in the West Bank as the spiritual mother of the movement to keep alive Palestinian culture and self-reliance.

She had been invited by the NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) Planning Committee of the United Nations to attend the International Conference of the Decade for Women in Nairobi as a resource person. She sat and spoke with us instead; the Nairobi Conference had already started and would take place without her. She spoke in faultless English of the things she would have spoken of at Nairobi—the women's society called In'ash El-Usra which she started 20 years ago in order to recreate a Palestinian

society on the rubble of a refugee existence. On July 3rd her attorney Raja Shehadeh had informed her that an Israeli Legal Advisor of the Military Government had denied her a permit to travel.

Several days later we sat in Gaza with the equally remarkable Yusra Barbary, founder and leader of the Palestine Women's Union (PWU). It had been founded a year earlier than In'ash El-Usra, in 1964, and its goals and accomplishments mirrored in the Gaza Strip what Um Khalil had created in the West Bank. She too had been denied a permit to travel by the Israeli military authorities.

What was not heard at Nairobi from these eloquent Palestinian women was a story of steadfast courage and ingenuity—the creation of self-reliant social, cultural and economic institutions under a military occupation which has brought about the destruction of indigenous social structures by the replacement of a traditional civil legal system with a set of military regulations numbering over 1200.

Of particular interest to the Nairobi Conference, these institutions had largely been created by women and served principally the needs of women and their children in a land where most men would serve time in political prisons and, when free, be drawn from their communities to serve the day-labor needs of the Israeli economy.

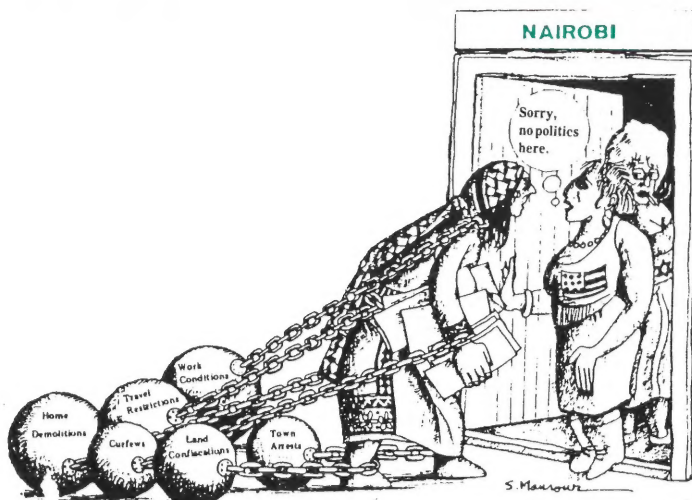
Sameeha Khalil was forced to flee her home in Majdal in the Gaza Strip in 1948 as Israeli forces occupied the town. She stated that while she never accepted the U.N. Partition of her land in 1947, done without consulting her people, she has turned her thoughts from what military power prevents her from doing to what she is capable of doing herself.

"I have always had three slogans I live by," she said, stating two of them immediately for us: "First, it is better to light one candle every day than cry in the darkness a hundred years. Second, the word 'impossible' is nonexistent when the human will is liberated from despair and hesitation."

The third slogan was the cornerstone of what she was later to create. It had been formed in her mind in 1948 but she could not act upon it until her existence became more settled. She stated it this way: "We can use the thoughts, time and money of our own people."

She did not want handouts. When her husband later became a director of UNRWA (the United Nations' Relief and Work Agency) her anger only increased. "Why do they feed us," she asked, "but give no support for our return to our homes?"

When in 1965 she had established a relatively stable existence at El Bireh, she decided to put her slogans to work. With six women she started her Society In'ash El-Usra. "I didn't want to be a beggar anymore, from anyone," she stated as she described her earliest efforts—a simple program to teach illiterate girls to embroider and sew. "We started," she continued, "with eight girls and one secondhand sewing machine. Two years later there were 42 girls." In a quiet voice, betraying none of the pride she must have felt in the Society's achievements, she told us: "We now have 350 trainees involved in sewing, weaving, machine embroidery and secretarial training." Graduates of the school now number 9000 in the West Bank and 4000 in the Gaza Strip. Because the skills taught are production oriented, almost all of her graduates are employed.



Faced with the problem of supporting her school financially, Um Khalil decided to extend the school's production to the neighboring towns where such skills abounded among the many refugees from various parts of Palestine. She sought out women known to be skilled in the arts of weaving and embroidery.

Today, the Society has 2000 women producing woven and embroidered goods selling at 100% profit over cost of production. Not only is she able to support the work of the school but gives financial aid to the families of over 650 Palestinian men who are in prison for violation, or suspected violation, of military orders.

At this point she insisted that we follow her into another room of the sprawling center. "You must," she said, "see the work of my girls," and, opening several drawers, she showed us exquisitely hand-embroidered tablecloths, napkins and pillow cases. It became quite clear that quality was one element in the success of her work.

The story of Yusra Barbary is similar and her accomplishments no less impressive. Starting with a single center in 1964 in the city of Gaza, serving largely needy women and orphans, three more centers were later added: at Khan Younis in 1969, at Rafah in 1972 and at Beit Hanoun in 1981. Three additional centers are in the planning stages.

Kindergartens, equipped with modern educational media forms, modern teaching methods and qualified teachers, have been added to each of the centers. To celebrate the International Year of the Child, a nursery was added with a capacity of 40 babies allowing mothers free time needed to support their families.

Ten centers to combat illiteracy have been established by the PWU in the towns and refugee camps in the Gaza Strip. Language classes are offered, where both English and Hebrew are taught.

Crochet and tricot workshops have been added to the curriculum of the centers. The income from the sale of these products has allowed the purchase of 58 modern knitting machines. My own daughter now wears a beautiful but inexpensive sweater bought at the Gaza Center.

That both of these women were denied the right to attend the Nairobi Conference, while disturbing, is not an unexpected outcome if one looks at the problems they have had over the years with the authorities of the military occupation. Each has been detained and questioned on a regular basis and each has spent considerable time under house or town arrest, all this despite the fact that they have

not been charged with specific crimes or even accused of such.

But then, neither of these women considers herself merely as a provider of assistance to a refugee people. The goals of their organizations parallel the major themes in the statements they make. They consider themselves an integral part of the movement toward a self-determining Palestinian state and a correction (even if only partial) to the wrong done them by the 1947 United Nations Partition and the subsequent wars. And about this, they do not mince words.

In referring to the denial of permission to attend the Nairobi Conference, Yusra Barbary, the more outspoken of the two exclaimed: "We are the Palestinian Nation. Yet we were forbidden to go and represent the Palestinian women at the Nairobi Conference. Were it not for America's pro-Israeli policy, this would not have happened."

The work of their centers bears out the beliefs they hold and state. It is these activities which have brought them into conflict with the military authorities. Beyond the creation of self-reliant economic institutions, cultural and folklore programs are an important part of each woman's work. They point to the constant attack by the military occupation on all cultural institutions in the communities and camps.

Um Khalil showed us her displays of Palestinian land documents representing generations of deeds to the land which they and the world are often told was empty. She also showed us a display of the changes in Palestinian dress throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. "We are creating books also," she said, "to show the Israelis and others the rich culture which existed on this land."

Each emphasized the importance of the support their organizations are giving to the prisoners and their families from providing warm socks and reading material for the prisoners to financially supporting those outside whose subsistence is threatened because the breadwinner is imprisoned.

Um Khalil is intimately aware of the prisoner problems. One of her sons served 5 years of a 7-year sentence for illegally returning home. Given a choice of freedom if he agreed to exile, he remained the last two years only to be exiled after 7 years anyway. She has herself been in prison 5 times and spent two and one-half years under house arrest. While specific charges are not filed, she is sure that the prison work is the principal reason.

She has raised her sons to accept their time in prison as a mark of pride for a Palestinian. One does not accept such a fate and not respond in some way, she feels. It is, however, a situation which brings much grief. Her children are forbidden to enter the occupied territories and she is forbidden to leave. She mentioned that she has been invited by the United Nations to over 15 conferences but has been able to attend none. With each permit denial she loses another opportunity to see her family. She was allowed once to visit some of them in Amman, Jordan.

Dismissing the sadness from her eyes with a shrug, she led us off to see other parts of the center: a class of singing children, a museum of Palestinian pottery and more embroidered items which we could purchase.

Yusra Barbary also discussed with us her problems with the military authorities. The picture she insists on keeping

(continued on page 5)



NAIROBI (continued from page 4)

over her desk containing an image of the Palestinian Flag has brought her to jail more than once. (Displays of the Palestinian Flag are forbidden by military order.) Only recently she had been called in for questioning by the local military commander. When asked to state what she thought the problems were and what might be done to alleviate them she responded: "Occupation is the problem. Evacuation is the solution." She was returned to house arrest.

Money contributed in the form of checks to her centers, she indicated, is most often useless. The authorities simply do not permit her to cash them. Just this week, she told us, it was necessary to return a check for \$1000 written three years ago by an American. She hoped we could see the irony of this. "The U.S. provides Israel from the loaf of bread to the phantom jet," she vehemently stated, "yet contributions to us from American organizations are stopped by Israeli military order."

Concluding her remarks with a thought for us to ponder, she said: "We both must struggle to liberate ourselves, we Palestinians from military occupation, you Americans from Israeli cultural and political occupation."

Direct, uncompromising language to be sure! But coming from this wiry former headmistress who has devoted her life to the struggle for survival of her people, not particularly surprising. □

[**Mr. Masterson** is with the Department of Mathematics, Michigan State University.]

THE QUIET REVOLUTION

Dr. Moshe Hazani

[In this article, the Israeli writer explains increasing Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation. It is not, as many Israelis believe, only imitation of resistance in the south of Lebanon, but the inevitable consequence of a profound change taking place in occupied Palestine. The article was originally published in Hebrew in the Israeli daily Yedi'ot Aharonot of 28 February 1985. Translation by Dr. Israel Shahak—Editor:]

Sociologists say that there are two types of social mobility. One takes place within one generation and the other between generations. In the first case, an uneducated person may work hard, save money, and go to university to become a member of the educated sector. In the second case, the uneducated person works hard, saves money and sends his son to university. Thus the son, rather than the father, becomes a member of the educated sector, and society changes as the generations take over from one another.

Without us noticing, a slow but drastic change is taking place among the Arabs of the [occupied] territories, which

resembles that of a child growing up. The Arab public which was conquered in 1967 no longer exists as a political factor. In its place there has emerged a new generation that has a totally different background. We are now dealing with people who are the graduates of the universities which have proliferated in the territories. The old men of 1967 have died, the adults of 1967 have grown old, the youngsters of 1967 have become adults, and the babies of 1967 are now young men and women.

The toddlers of the Six Day War are today in their twenties. They have been exposed to Western culture, to nationalist ideas and to a highly organized and militarized society (us). Unlike their parents, they are no longer tied by the bonds of kinship and tribe. They are better travelled, more willing to endanger themselves and more open to outside ideas. They are in constant contact with the wider student world. They are the political vanguard of the Arabs of the [occupied] territories today.

Given these developments, the question as to whether our withdrawal from Lebanon gave rise to the recent attacks in the West Bank seems absurd to me. Nor does it make sense to quote statistics in order to prove that the number of attacks has not in fact increased. In view of the profound change described above, all this is secondary. A new generation which is different from the previous one is inevitably emerging in a process which has nothing to do with Lebanon or our statistics. They share a tendency towards the same things: towards a deepening national consciousness and towards a more militant style. In that, they are just like their contemporaries in all other Third World countries.

Ten years ago, I ran into a Palestinian student from Nablus during a visit to Germany. When I mocked the ineffectiveness of the Arab underground, he replied: "You are right, but remember that we have to make a thousand year jump ahead. It will take time." Last week, I met with some Arab students in the West Bank. These were not the ragged urchins who used to sell ice cream in the Old City [of Jerusalem] in 1967, but their younger brothers. One of them told me: "We are moving towards greater extremism, which will lead to greater extremism among you. If you beat us you will turn even the moderates among us against you. The children here already hate you. Shoot us, expel us, turn us into victims in the eyes of the world, and victory will be ours." He added: "Is that not what you yourselves did to the English during your campaign over illegal immigration [into Palestine during the mandate]?"

His friends nodded. They were no different from any other group of students I had met anywhere else in the world, from the students who stopped the Vietnam war, deposed Nixon, almost brought down de Gaulle, destabilized the German and Italian governments and saved social democracy in Spain.

These are the new Palestinians who grew up in the shadow of the Israeli flag. They are daring, sophisticated and above all, frustrated. They are the real challenge we face. Over the years, biology has brought about a quiet revolution which has produced a new, different generation of Palestinians. □

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ARAFAT ADDRESSES WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

Offers Peace For Land

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasser Arafat said he is willing to exchange "peace for land" with Israel in order to achieve a peaceful and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. Speaking via satellite hook-up from Amman, Arafat told participants in the Fifth Annual Convention of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in Washington that the aim of the PLO is not war. "Our aim," he said, "was and will continue to be peace...because we believe that peace is the only way for our new generations to live in a peaceful way...so that all of us can find a place under the sun..."

In his remarks before the last forum of the three-day convention, Arafat criticized U.S. wavering on holding dialogue with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, but expressed hope that the Reagan administration would be more forthcoming in its support of the Jordanian-Palestinian peace initiative, which he described as "the last chance for peace in the Middle East." The PLO leader told the predominantly supportive audience that U.S. foreign policy has always been based on the principle of rejecting preconditions. He asked, "Why then are they insisting on preconditions only with the Palestinians?"

Arafat told his audience that the PLO has long been committed to the search for peace as evidenced by his 1974 address to the UN General Assembly. He called his historic speech before the UN body "the first initiative I addressed to world public opinion." The PLO Chairman explained, "our target is to obtain and to achieve peaceful and comprehensive settlement in the whole area, especially of the Palestinian issue..." Then he proceeded to enumerate different conflicts in the Middle East in which the PLO played the role of mediator or peacemaker. These include the Iran-Iraq war, the hostage crisis in Iran and the conflict between North and South Yemen.

In response to a question about the current condition of the Palestinian Movement, Arafat assured the audience of about 850, that the Palestinians have certainly survived a very difficult period in their history since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. However, he emphasized that the PLO managed to bypass the critical juncture or "the bottleneck," as he termed it. Then Arafat specifically mentioned Palestinian successes in rebuilding their economic, educational, health and military infrastructure. He concluded that "the PLO returned to be one of the most important figures in the Middle East equation."

When asked to comment on the recent refusal by Secretary of State George Shultz to go along with the recommendations of State Department officials on holding a dialogue between the U.S. and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, Arafat said: "I have no comment for Mr. Shultz, but I hope that the American administration will help us...to push...the Jordanian-Palestinian initiative, to achieve...peace in the land of peace...I hope that the



American administration will work with us in this line." He also expressed hope that the peace initiative will also be accepted by international public opinion including democratic and progressive forces inside Israel.

Arafat was also asked to explain Palestinian insistence on an international peace conference with the participation of the Soviet Union. He responded by stating that the PLO is committed to several relevant resolutions by Arab summit conferences, the Nonaligned Movement and the Islamic Conference, which call for the convening of an international peace conference. He further emphasized that there are two superpowers, and the Palestinians cannot simply neglect one of them. When this was done, he explained, as in Lebanon and Camp David, a permanent and comprehensive peaceful solution was not achieved. In addition, he argued that peace cannot be realized by disregarding international legality, namely, UN resolutions relevant to the conflict. Finally, Arafat justified the concept of an international conference in terms of needed international guarantees. "We are the victims," he said, "and we are in need of these international guarantees."

Arafat took this opportunity to praise Jordanian-Palestinian cooperation towards peace. He described Jordanian-Palestinian relations as "historical relations—very old and very strong." It is a relationship, according to Arafat, that is supported by numerous Palestinian and Arab resolutions calling for strong Jordanian-Palestinian relations through confederal relations between the two sides. He specifically named the Rabat Summit Conference of 1974, the 1983 Algiers Summit Conference, and the 1984 PNC session in Amman, to justify his argument. Arafat also described the Jordanian-Palestinian accord of February 11, as "the right mechanism to implement the resolutions of the Fez Summit Conference, which we called the Arab peace plan, through which we can achieve peace in our land, Palestine." □

POU IN JORDAN

Palestinian higher education is about to launch an important new experiment. A Palestinian Open University (POU) will soon be established in Jordan.

Planning for the university has been in progress since 1978, when a comprehensive study of the educational needs of the Palestinian people was undertaken by a team of specialists headed by Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, a Palestinian professor at Northwestern University. The study was done with the cooperation of UNESCO.

Preparations for implementing the POU plan were underway when the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon interrupted them in June 1982. The choice of Jordan as the new location of the university was recently announced by Dr. Admad Sidqi Dajani, the head of the PLO's Department of Higher Education. He said that the PLO and the government of Jordan have reached an agreement on this matter.

The POU will use "distance learning" techniques to offer university-level training opportunities in various fields to Palestinians in occupied Palestine and the diaspora. Its curriculum and programs were designed to take into account the special conditions and needs of the Palestinian people. Intensified Israeli harassment of Palestinian universities in the occupied territories makes the speedy opening of POU an important contribution to Palestinian viability and survival. □

PLO ENVOY URGES FRENCH ROLE

PLO representative in France, Ibrahim al-Sous, urged the French government to play a more active role in the search for a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In an interview with the *Jordan Times*, published on 7 September 1985, he called on France to upgrade the diplomatic status of the PLO office in Paris and to extend a formal invitation to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat to enhance its role in the peace process.

Mr. Sous said that French involvement has fluctuated over the years. He called the French role in the evacuation of PLO forces from Beirut in 1982 one of the "highlights" of French-Palestinian cooperation, and said that France contributed to previous peace initiatives. He called on France to renew its commitment to the search for peace in the Middle East, and suggested that the French government should call for a general debate on the subject of an international peace conference, and to work with other European countries to exert pressure on the U.S. government to establish relations with the PLO similar to those which exist between the PLO and West European countries. □

ISRAEL THREATENS JORDAN PLO GOES ON ALERT

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has apparently alerted its leaders and institutions to the possibility of Israeli assassination attempts against their personnel. Israel has been claiming that the PLO has reestablished its military presence in Jordan, and that such a presence was responsible for increasing Palestinian resistance in the occupied territories.

Abu Jihad, the deputy commander of PLO forces, denied the presence of Palestinian military forces in Jordan, and said that Israeli threats to Jordan are designed to distract attention from the increasing resistance to the occupation. He said that only administrative PLO offices are in Jordan. This fact has been confirmed recently by U.S. government sources.

The Speaker of the Palestine National Council, Shaikh Abdulhamid Sayeh, also condemned Israeli threats to Jordan. He said that such threats were aimed at driving a wedge between the Jordanian and Palestinian people. Other Palestinian sources explained that Israel is using "divide and conquer" tactics, which succeeded in precipitating the 1970 war between Jordan and the PLO.

Some diplomatic sources also believe that Israeli allegations of the return of PLO fighters to Jordan are intended to discredit recent PLO-Jordanian peace moves. □

KHALAF ON PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Fateh Central Committee member Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) held a press conference in Tunis on 2 September 1985 to discuss regional and international developments related to Palestinian affairs.

On the role of the United States in recent attempts to revive the peace process, Khalaf criticized the U.S. for seeking to divide the PLO and hindering the peace process by stipulating conditions that no Palestinian leader can accept. He added that "there is no glimmer of hope from any meeting with the United States."

The PLO leader objected to U.S. insistence on the following four preconditions: First, the PLO must accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338. Second, the PLO has to condemn terrorism and denounce the use of armed struggle. Third, recognition of Israel. Fourth, direct negotiations with Israel. Khalaf was critical of these U.S. demands particularly in light of the American refusal to commit itself to Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories.

In response to a question concerning reports of internal Palestinian differences over replacing PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, Abu Iyad denied any personal role in such activity. He explained: "We in the Central Committee may differ. This is healthy. However, there are red lines and principles. Arafat is not an object of bargaining... It is not a matter of persons... Whenever we differ, we do so within the framework of legitimacy."

In his press conference broadcast by Radio Monte Carlo, Khalaf also discussed continued attempts at restoring Palestinian unity blaming Syria for preventing Palestinian factions based in Damascus from contacting Fateh or the PLO and threatening to expel them from Syria. Abu Iyad accused the Syrians of detaining over 100 Fateh members and eliminating others in Lebanon. □

ANALYSIS... BY HOOK OR CROOK

More than anything else, Zionism is a land-grabbing scheme. Since its inception as a political movement in 1897, it set for itself, as a top priority item on its agenda, the task of alienating Arab land in Palestine and "transferring" it to Jewish settlers, a process known in Zionist jargon as "redeeming the land." When Israel came into being in 1948, it was established on Palestinian land 6 per cent of which had been purchased from its Arab owners and 94 per cent conquered in the course of the first Arab-Israeli war.

The process is being repeated in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Since Israel conquered the territories in 1967, it had seized more than half of their total territory. At the beginning, the Israeli occupation authorities seized Arab land by confiscating it, using "military necessity" and "security needs" as pretexts. Much of the confiscated land was then turned over to Israeli civilians for the establishment of exclusively Jewish settlements.

When Menachem Begin came to power in Israel, his government decided to bring Israeli private enterprise into the land grabbing business. It "legalized" private land purchase in the occupied territories. The result was a flood of fraudulent land sales in which the signatures of Palestinian owners were forged and their land sold to Israeli buyers. Usually, the owner discovered that his land had been "sold" only when strangers showed up with bulldozers to build on his land.

The Peres government is now investigating the problem of fraudulent land sales. Of course, the problem was not a secret that Peres had just uncovered. Palestinian newspapers in the occupied territories have been writing about it and publishing complaints from Palestinian victims for several years. The reason why the Israeli government has become interested in the matter is that some Jews are beginning to complain, Jews who themselves have been victimized by Israeli land companies which sold them—at a tempting discount—land they had fraudulently bought. Also, the issue has become useful as a scandal to be employed in the power struggle between Labor and Likud, the political adversaries now sharing power in Israel.

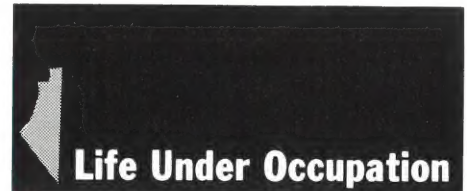
The rights of Palestinian landowners hardly matter in Zionist calculus. This is evidenced not only by the fact that years of complaining by defrauded Palestinians produced no response from the Israeli authorities, but also by the fact that once the issue came out in the open, the Israelis declared the affected lands "closed military areas," which means that their Arab owners would be denied access to their land. If past experience is any indication, which it usually is, the Palestinians are likely to lose their land ... if not to individual Israelis, then to the state of Israel. And the land grab goes on. □

PALESTINIAN JOURNALISTS PLEAD FOR FREEDOM

Five Palestinian journalists living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, deprived of their freedom of movement, appealed to the International Committee for the Protection of Journalists for help to regain their freedom. The following is the text of the letter they sent to the Secretariat of the Committee from Jerusalem on 30 July 1985:

It is well-known to you how much the Palestinian citizen in general and the journalist in particular suffers in the occupied territo-

ries. There he is subjected to a double ordeal, first because he is a citizen who experiences the repercussions of the occupation, and secondly, because he is subjected to a great deal of harassment in relation to his profession. As journalists, we are subjected to house arrest imposed by the Israeli occupation authorities without our knowing the real or immediate reason for such a penalty. This makes each of us live in extremely difficult conditions.
(continued on page 10)



ISRAELI "HIGHER" EDUCATION

"Introductory Interrogation"

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem is apparently acclamating itself to Israel's new career as an empire in the Middle East. It seems to be offering its students the opportunity to "intern" with the Israeli secret police to learn how to interrogate Palestinian political prisoners. This is what we must assume from the following document, until Hebrew University provides an alternate explanation.

The following is the text of a complaint to the Rector of the university by Mr. Yusef Hushei'a, a Palestinian instructor at the UN-administered Kalandia vocational school in the occupied West Bank. He was detained from February 2 until May 3, 1985 and interrogated about his political views by three persons who identified themselves as Hebrew University students. The text of the complaint was published by the Israeli "Alternative Information Center" in its newsletter of 13 August 1985:

Student Interrogators

"Ten days prior to my release, the interrogator ordered me to meet with three people who identified themselves as students of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. They said that they were studying the 'Middle East' but refused to identify themselves by name. The meeting took place in an interrogation room at about 9 o'clock in the morning.

"The students refused to speak English and insisted on speaking Arabic, in spite of their poor command of the language. One of the students put a foul smelling sack over my head. He then apologized and said that the interrogator had requested him to do so.

"The students asked me for my personal data: name, address, family status, education, schools at-
(continued on page 10)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION REPORT

ISRAEL DISCRIMINATES AGAINST ARAB WORKERS

Between March 2 and 12, 1985, a mission from the ILO, Geneva, visited Israel and the occupied Arab territories. Its mandate was to examine the situation of Arab workers living on the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), Gaza and in the Golan.

After its exhaustive analysis of the situation, the mission's findings were drawn up into a report by the Director-General of the ILO and presented at the 71st Session of the International Labor Conference earlier this year.

To those inclined to accept Israel's claim that Arab workers in the occupied territories are treated fairly and decently, the report will come as something of an eye-opener.

For example, take that old boast of Zionist propaganda: that Israel has "*made the desert bloom.*" If the desert is part of an Israeli settlement, this is true enough, but woe betide you if you are an Arab farmer in need of water.

Despite Israel's denial that agricultural land and water resources are being diverted to the settlements, Arab and Palestinian sources told the mission that *farms are being destroyed by Israeli settlers and that Arab farmers are suffering from Israeli control of the water supply.*

In support of this contention, the ILO points out that although the cultivated area of the settlements accounts for less than two per cent of the total cultivated area of the West Bank, the irrigated area of the settlements is estimated at 40 per cent of the total irrigated area.

Furthermore, as the ILO says, only one quarter of all the "shared water resources" of Israel and the West Bank are used by the West Bank Palestinian residents. The upshot of all this, in the words of the ILO's report, is that the West Bank Palestinians "are forced to a great extent to keep to a traditional form of extensive farming."

But Israeli monopolizing of water resources in the occupied territories forms just a small part of the ILO mission's report. On prac-

tically every major aspect of employment—be it wages, working conditions or social benefits—the ILO mission has severe criticisms to make of Israel with regard to its treatment of the Arab labor force.

Thus, Israel maintains that there is full employment in the occupied territories, while Arab and Palestinian sources claim that *there is an unemployment rate of between 34 and 40 per cent.*

After its researches, the mission found itself compelled to accept the latter picture as being more realistic. In its report, the mission talks of its "deep concern about the employment situation in the occupied territories" and stresses "the extent to which failure to create jobs in the local economy and the narrowing of the latter's base are preventing the absorption both of those newly arriving on the labor market and of those who can no longer find employment in Israel because of the recession there."

The mission cites the situation of the highly skilled labor force as a "highly significant example of the employment problems in the occupied territories."

With the development of university establishments and high ambitions of young people in the occupied territories, the size of the skilled labor force is rapidly increasing. Yet there is a scarcity of openings on the local labor market. Consequently, university-trained workers frequently have to accept unskilled jobs in Israel.

On the subjects of vocational training and higher education itself, the mission has stringent criticisms to make of Israel's policy with regard to the occupied territories. Its report says that *the "effects of the state of occupation on the smooth running of local training and educational establishments are certainly an essential cause for concern."*

The mission forcefully describes the type of behavior the regulations are used as a pretext for: "the closure of universities, sometimes prolonged as in the case of Nablus and Birzeit, with obviously harmful con-

sequences for study and examinations; the freezing of funds intended for the Islamic University of Gaza; the arrest and imprisonment of students; arrest, house arrest, salary deductions and dismissal of teachers."

As the mission ironically puts it, this situation "is hardly conducive to the necessary pursuit of knowledge and qualifications which represents, whatever the difficulties, the ultimate purpose of the local system of higher education."

Neither does Israel come out well on the question of development of the occupied territories. The ILO says that the major share of public investment in these areas is spent on infrastructure; that is, roads, electricity, water and so forth.

The report continues: *"The [Israeli] government authorities are apparently not very inclined to approve development projects in the occupied territories which might compete with the production capacities in the Israeli economy itself...."*

A similar situation prevails in agriculture. The ILO states that "Israeli agricultural produce has free entry to the occupied territories but the reverse does not apply." The result is that "the better quality products of the territories are sent to Israel, which markets them while exporting its own poorer quality products to the territories."

The right to belong to a trade union is a fundamental right universally recognized by democratic nations and regarded as being of central importance by the ILO. Not surprisingly, Israel's record here is also appalling.

Using as excuses considerations of public order and security, *Israel intervenes in and hinders trade union activity in the occupied territories in every way possible.* The mission speaks of "the interference of the military authorities in trade union premises, their confiscation of trade union equipment and documents, the summoning of trade unionists before military courts without the reasons being stated, and the order given by the military

authorities for certain changes to be made on trade union premises."

Israel has also arrested or placed under house arrest many trade union leaders and members. Neither does it explain its refusal to authorize the registration of some 140 unregistered trade unions on the West Banks.

The ILO argues that the so-called *political factors* adduced by Israel to account for its behavior in this sphere in no way justify the denial of trade union protection to Arab workers in the occupied territories.

By now a clear picture will be emerging: *Israel's loudly trumpeted claim that it treats its Arab workers with perfect fairness and equality is completely untrue.* □

[From *Palestine*, volume 10, nos. 6 & 7, August 1-16, 1985]

INTERROGATION

(continued from page 8)

tended, and who paid for my studies. When I remarked that a jail was not the appropriate place for such a meeting and such questions, and that if they wished to meet me it could be arranged after my release, one of them responded in an aggressive and threatening tone, saying 'outside we don't have the opportunity to force detainees to talk—but here we do.' I understood that I ought to answer their questions.

"They then began to direct their questions to the [offenses] which I am suspected of. They asked me when I was arrested, what I am suspected of, and whether I was really guilty. Also, they asked me if I was a member of the PLO and if my friends belong to the PLO. When I denied any connection with the offenses I am suspected of, one of the students asked me: 'As a Palestinian you must [feel] indebted to your people and you must have had to prove your loyalty by making a contribution to the Palestinian people. What did you do? I answered that I'm contributing in my role as a teacher.

"They also asked me a number of general questions, such as: What in your opinion is the solution for the Palestinian problem? Do you think peace is possible between the Arabs and Israel?...

"Finally they told me that the interrogator had told them that I had been through a taxing interrogation.

"The meeting lasted many hours and the students took turns asking questions.

"About a week later, three other students 'interrogated' me. This time [the session] took place in the room where I was being held rather than in the interrogation room. This interrogation lasted three hours and ended at twelve noon. This time, in addition to the questions I had been asked a week earlier, I was also asked if I was prepared to be a Palestinian delegate for negotiations...

"The next day I was again subjected to an experimental interrogation attended by students. In the middle of the interrogation, an interrogator appeared and took me away to an isolation cell. Later, I was brought back and asked about the military courts, interrogators, whether one of my friends had squealed on me, etc.

"The interrogation was conducted in a vigorous manner; the student 'interrogators' accused me of lying and withholding information." □

JOURNALISTS

(continued from page 8)

tions psychologically and professionally, especially as the nature of our profession demands freedom of movement if the truth about the suffering of our people is to be communicated.

Our freedom of speech is restricted at all times because it has to pass through the scissors of the Israeli military censor who gives himself the right to approve or delete whatever he likes. We do not understand, however, by what right the occupation authorities deny us freedom of movement to practice our profession and restrict us to our homes and villages which exist under extremely severe conditions of occupation. We do not know how you visualize a Palestinian journalist under house arrest in such a village which, because of the occupation, lacks even the very basic necessities of modern life: There is no telephone; electricity is



Life Under Occupation

restricted to a few hours of the night; and there is not even a single library or small park. It is a punishment without any clear rationale and one of a kind that destroys soul, work and thought, and under which the journalist is subject to more than one restriction.

Therefore, we call upon you to exert the utmost effort to intervene quickly and effectively to protect us from punishments which we see as resulting from anger and vengeance more than from logic and reason.

It is natural for a fighter to be martyred on the battle field and it is comprehensible that a citizen be arrested for an action considered offensive by the occupation. But imposing the punishment of house arrest on a human being only because he is a journalist practicing a profession recognized by all international customs and principles of human rights, requires a clear, a very clear, explanation.

We therefore appeal to you: Stretch out your hands to help and rescue us from the restrictions imposed on us by the occupation which causes each one of us exceptional and severe estrangement and makes us feel foreigners in our own country and homeland....

We hope that our outstretched bound hands will meet your generous hands on the grounds of Freedom and Justice.

Signed by:

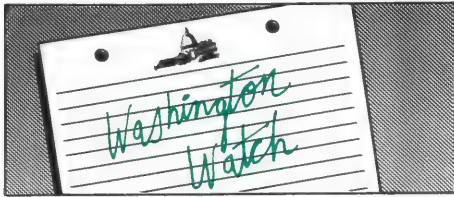
1) **Musa Jaradat:** *Al-Fajr* daily newspaper, editor—under house arrest in Dura, Hebron.

2) **Talal abu-Afifeh:** *Al-Fajr*, permanent secretary of the League of Journalists in the occupied territories—under house arrest in Shufat refugee camp.

3) **Nabhan Khreisheh:** *Al-Fajr*, West Bank correspondent—under house arrest in the village of Thinnaba, Tulkarm.

4) **Mohammed Amireh:** *Al-Quds* daily newspaper, correspondent—under house arrest in Balata refugee camp, Nablus.

5) **Hamdi Farraj:** *Al-Mithaq* daily newspaper, editor—formerly under house arrest in Dheisheh refugee camp, Bethlehem; now arrested.



PROFESSOR PURGED FROM SUNY

Another professor has fallen victim to Zionist McCarthyism. This time, the victim is Dr. Ernest Dube, professor in the Program of Africana Studies at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Stony Brook, Long Island. SUNY has decided, after two years of Zionist pressure, to deny tenure to professor Dube, whose services to the university would be terminated next year.

Professor Dube, the 56-year-old Cornell graduate, became a target of Zionist McCarthyism two years ago because he taught a course on "The Politics of Racism" in which he included Zionism, along with apartheid and Nazism, as examples of racism. The pressure on Dube and the university was sparked by a visiting Israeli professor, Selwyn Troen, who never heard Dube's lectures and relied on a student informant to accuse Dube of anti-Semitism. A subsequent investigation by appropriate university bodies concluded that Dube's course had not violated the constraints of academic responsibility. The chairman of the faculty committee which was appointed in 1983 by the university senate to investigate the charge, Joel Rosenthal, said at the time that the accusation against Dube was "a very serious charge based on very weak evidence." The university senate approved the committee's report by a vote of 54 to 14 and decided to drop the matter.

Professor Dube accused the SUNY administration of surrendering to outside Zionist influence when it decided to deny him tenure. He said that his tenure was recommended by all of the academic committees, and that its denial was an administrative-political fiat, rather than an act of academic judgment.

The chairman of the Program of Africana Studies, professor Leslie

COMMENTARY... PROTAGONIST OR PEACEMAKER?

Every time U.S. policy in the Middle East appears to be on the verge of being freed of Israeli suzerainty, which is not often, something goes wrong and Israel reasserts its familiar grip on American policy. The view that U.S. policy is made in Tel Aviv and executed in Washington remains hard to refute.

In a recent act of bravado, Reagan administration officials responded to Israeli objections to a U.S. dialogue with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation by boasting that Israel has no veto over American policy. They announced that such a dialogue would take place as soon as a Jordanian-Palestinian team acceptable to the U.S. is appointed.

Such a team was appointed, and U.S. special envoy Richard Murphy flew to the Middle East on what was heralded to be the first step on the road to peace in the Middle East. But he returned on August 20 without meeting with the delegation. The Israelis told him that such a meeting would make them unhappy, and he and his bosses (whoever they are) apparently decided that that would be too high a price for peace.

There are two plausible explanations for Murphy's failure to meet with the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, which had waited for his gracious invitation in Amman. One, that the Department of State has its own reasons for not meeting with the delegation. Two, that it has no policy independent of Israel's.

The first explanation is not convincing. The argument, advanced by the State Department to explain the failure of Murphy's mission, that the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation should agree to hold direct negotiations with the Israelis after the initial dialogue with the U.S. envoy, is specious to say the least. Is it not the function of an "honest broker," the role that the U.S. has assigned to itself, to sit with the parties to persuade them to be "reasonable"? If the U.S. believes that the reasonable thing for the Palestinians and the Jordanians to do is to commit themselves to direct negotiations with the Israelis after they have their dialogue with the U.S., would it not be the right thing for the U.S. to sit with the delegation to convince it of its view? After all, isn't that what dialogues are for? On the other hand, if the Jordanians and Palestinians must commit themselves to direct negotiations with Israel before they can have a dialogue with the U.S., what is the sense of having such a dialogue?

The only way in which sense can be made of recent diplomatic posturing is to say that the U.S. is operating as a courier or an errand boy for Israel, rather than a concerned peacemaker or an honest broker of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is, in fact, the role to which U.S. diplomacy is doomed as long as it does not support Palestinian liberty with the same enthusiasm and fidelity that it supports Israel's security. As long as U.S. policy lacks this balance, its function will continue to be to extract Arab concessions to feed insatiable Israeli ambitions. This is the role of protagonists, not peacemakers. □

H. Owens, confirmed Dube's claim, saying that all the academic committees approved Dube's tenure. He praised his scholarship: "He was a vast resource for our program. I don't think we can replace him," professor Owens said. He added that he had no doubt that the administrative decision to deny tenure to Dube was the result of outside pressure on the university.

In their campaign against Dube, the New York Zionists recruited politicians, including governor Cuomo and a number of state legislators, who threatened the university with funding cuts unless it terminated Dube's course. In the end academia surrendered to McCarthyism, and professor Ernest Dube will not be at SUNY next year. □

CROCKETT ASSAILS ISRAELI REPRESSION OF PALESTINIANS

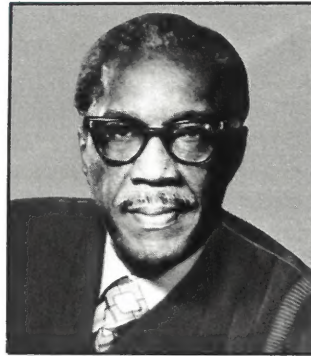
Congressman Geo. W. Crockett, Jr. (D-MI) said that his recent trip to the Middle East has convinced him that a system of apartheid exists on the West Bank and Gaza under the Israeli military occupation. In a statement issued by him on 13 September, the Congressman said: "Here in the Congress we are fighting against South Africa's repressive measures, and yet closing our eyes to the institutional repression and the brutality that is being daily conducted against the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories." He said that "we are looking the other way because Israel, like South Africa, is white and is a friend and ally."

Congressman Crockett recently visited Jordan and the occupied West Bank, including Jerusalem. During his seven-day visit, his first to the area, he met with King Hussein of Jordan, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, Taher Masri, Jordan's Foreign Minister, and the U.S. ambassador to Jordan. In the West Bank, he conferred with the Israeli military governor, the U.S. Consul General in Jerusalem, four of the displaced Arab mayors of West Bank cities, and Palestinian business and professional leaders in the occupied territories.

Congressman Crockett said that his talks and observations had convinced him that the situation on the West Bank "was desperate and deteriorating." He said that the Israeli Knesset had voted to implement with renewed intensity previous measures of military occupation.

"For example, An-Najah University has been closed for two months allegedly because 'pro-Palestinian' literature was found on campus; numerous individuals who were released during prisoner exchange some months ago have been re-arrested without charge; deportation is again a common practice as is administrative detention without trial for up to six months, and most recently the Knesset has passed the first reading of a proposed law, making it a crime to meet with any supporter or member of the PLO. And all this in the context of a situation in which settler violence

"Apartheid Exists in the West Bank"



Congressman Geo. W. Crockett

is on the rise," the Congressman said.

"Yet while we justifiably seek strong Congressional action to get South Africa to change its racist policies," Crockett continued, "we continue to provide Israel with the funds it needs to continue construction of Jewish settlements in Palestinian territory and to maintain a military establishment in the West Bank and Gaza that functions not just for national defense, but as a finely honed instrument of repression against an entire subject people. We turn our heads when our 'ally' uses measures of collective punishment—for example, the blowing up of houses of families of individuals who are merely suspected of an offense and the placement of curfews on whole towns," Mr. Crockett said.

Congressman Crockett, who is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, declared that "it was in the vital interests of the United States to seek peace and stability in the Middle East. The alternative is more racial and religious violence. But the United States does not even insist that Israel participate meaningfully in a peace process," the Congressman said. "Rather, we allow Israel to dictate who Washington may or may not talk to in the search for peace."

"Peace will never be realized so long as we allow Israel to pursue the kinds of regional policies that she has been implementing for the past 18 years in the West Bank and Gaza." Mr. Crockett continued: "If

a just solution is not found to the Palestinian diaspora, then the United States will be inexorably dragged into another and far more violent Middle East quagmire." He said that "the United States must speak out for a comprehensive peace settlement and for an immediate end to the repressive measures against the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories." □

REPRESSION DENOUNCED

The Washington-based Council of Presidents of Arab-American Organizations denounced escalating Israeli repression in the occupied territories. The Council's president, Sam Phillips, in a press release, drew a parallel between the ongoing repression in South Africa and the Palestinian occupied territories. "The mass arrests of Arab leaders and the use of military force and brutality against public expression of resistance closely parallels the ongoing arrests and deprivation of human rights in South Africa." He continued to say: "Like the Blacks in South Africa, the Arabs in Israel and the Occupied Territories are subject to 'special' laws which do not apply to the dominant population. Enforcement of these laws destroy lives, livelihoods, homes and families and are aimed at frustrating the right to self-determination."

Among recent acts of Israeli repression is the arrest of 56 people, many of whom are students and trade unionists. "Deportation orders were issued against several people. Rows of homes were blown up. Crowds of Arab demonstrators were fired on by Israeli troops and 14 people were placed under house arrest."

Mr. Phillips said that the escalation of Israeli repression comes within the context of moves to revive the Defense (Emergency) Regulations of 1945, under which the British governed Palestine. These laws authorize deportation and administrative detention without charges or trial. □

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"The extremism of Israeli youth does not manifest itself only in their political outlook on the Arab-Israeli conflict, but also in a general lack of tolerance across the board."

Ze'ev Schiff
Ha'aretz (Israel)
8 August 1985

"The problem Meir Kahane perceives for Israel's Jews is the same problem South Africa's whites are now wrestling with."

Joseph Sobran
(Editor of *National Review*)
Washington Times
3 September 1985

"Fascism has very rapidly exceeded the bounds of the political platform of Israel's fascist party, Kach, and became a fact of our public life."

Editorial
Ha'aretz (Israel)
22 July 1985

"People who speak in one way and act in another have little credibility. Vigorous protest of apartheid while acquiescing in Israel's continuing campaign to intimidate the Palestinian people into submission is hypocrisy."

Mark A. Bruzonsky
Los Angeles Times
22 August 1985

SHARON "PEACE" PLAN

Ariel Sharon has a new plan to bring peace to Israel. Its main attraction is that it does not require Israel to give up anything. Here are the main elements of the Sharon plan to secure peace and tranquility for Israel, which he had outlined in a speech to the Likud faction in the Israeli parliament, as reported by *Hadashot* of 30 July 1985:

■ "When a stone is thrown, we'll demolish one row of houses in the [refugee] camp from which it is thrown. If another one is thrown, we'll demolish the second row. There is nothing new in this. We used this method in Gaza."

■ "We have to close down any educational institution in Judea and Samaria [West Bank] where there is trouble, even the slightest, for half a year."

■ "All the troublemakers have to be evicted from the country."

■ "Trade unions which serve as a cover for terrorist activity should be disbanded."

■ "*El-Shabiba*, the PLO youth movement, should be closed down."

■ "Anyone waving a PLO flag or wearing a PLO button or identifying in any way with the PLO should be arrested."

End of Sharon's peace plan. It remains to be explained that "terrorist activity" means any expression of opposition to the occupation; that "*Shabiba*" simply means "youth" and is not a "PLO youth movement"; and "PLO flag" is the Palestinian national flag which pre-dates the PLO. □

In Brief

ISRAELIS:

"TALK TO ARAFAT"

Thirty-seven percent of all Israeli Jews support the participation of a Palestinian delegation in a peace process. A public opinion poll, conducted for *Ha'aretz* by the Israeli Public Opinion Research Institute, said that the result indicated a sharp increase from ten years ago, when a similar poll showed that only 15.4 percent of Israelis favored Palestinian participation. The recent poll also showed that 26.6 percent favor sending Israeli government representatives to discuss a solution to the Palestine problem with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat.

NUCLEAR THREAT TO MIDEAST

Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan said that a combination of factors render the Middle East the most likely region where a nuclear war could occur. These factors include "the intractability of the Arab-Israeli conflict" and Israel's nuclear capability, he said. Prince Hassan made the statement on 28 June to the Geneva Conference on Nuclear War.

ESCAPE FROM ISRAEL

Israeli Jews are discovering that the Zionist state is not the promised land after all. Israeli statistics say that 80,000 Israelis left the country during the last five years, and that the number of emigrants expected in 1985 is 30,000. The ailing economy, the war in Lebanon, and rising Jewish extremism in Israel are thought to be the main contributing factors.

ANYTHING FOR ISRAEL

In 1984 Congress passed a law which would discourage the purchase of Israeli government bonds in the United States. The law requires holders of low interest bonds (such as the Israeli bonds) to pay taxes on more interest than they receive, as if they had bought U.S. bonds of similar maturity... "unless Congress changes the law"—according to the prestigious *Kiplinger Tax Letter*—"which we think it will...retroactively."



NONALIGNED RESOLUTION

Participants at the Eighth Ministerial Conference of the Nonaligned Countries held in Luanda, Angola, between 4 and 7 September 1985, expressed their concern over the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East caused by continued Israeli policies of aggression and expansion in the region.

The draft resolution prepared for the ministerial conference reaffirmed its solidarity with the Arab countries in their just struggle and that of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative, for the restoration of their usurped national rights and the recovery of the occupied territories.

The document, expressing the consensus of the non-aligned movement, emphasized that a just peace in the Middle East can only be based on Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied in 1967, and the restoration of all the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The Foreign Ministers of over 100 nonaligned countries denounced Israeli exploitation of the natural resources and wealth of occupied Palestine in defiance of the Hague and Geneva Conventions. They appealed to all states and international bodies to abstain from recognizing Israel's authority and to refrain from any cooperation with it.

The document also expressed profound concern at the strategic alliance between the U.S., Israel and South Africa which tends to lead to aggression and instability. Specifically, the document was critical of U.S. support for Israel to continue its occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories and to prevent the Palestinian people from exercising their inalienable rights. □

SWEDEN: SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINE

The Palestine Solidarity Association in Sweden (Swedish acronym, PGS) is one of many committees of solidarity with the Palestinian people found in numerous countries around the world. The Swedish association was founded in 1976 to mobilize popular support for the Palestinian people and their struggle for their national rights. It is a nonpartisan group, and it has 25 local chapters throughout Sweden.

PGS believes that the solution of the Palestine question "is a prerequisite for a just and permanent peace in the Middle East." Such a solution, it says, "must be based on the recognition of, and the respect for, the national rights of the Palestinian people as formulated in Resolution number 3236 of the UN General Assembly."

Resolution 3236 was passed in 1974, and it affirms the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and their right to return to their homeland. PGS believes this solution to be "an important step towards the creation of a democratic state in Palestine, where no citizen will be subject to religious or ethnic discrimination."

PGS recognizes the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and works to bring about Swedish government recognition of the PLO as well as to broaden public support for the national rights of the Palestinian people. It considers Zionism to be a colonial movement and it "regards the ideology and activity of Zionism, and especially the state of Israel, as a



form of racism, directed against the original population of Palestine."

PGS is also active in the collection of contributions in Sweden for a Palestine Solidarity Fund to support Palestinian humanitarian work, especially in the area of health services. The fund has raised more than 2 million Swedish crowns since its establishment, most of which has been used to provide health care for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. It maintained a medical clinic in the Rashidiyya refugee camp, in southern Lebanon, in cooperation with the Palestine Red Crescent Society, until the Israeli invasion army destroyed it in 1982. Swedish health workers then moved their work to Beirut and northern Lebanon. □

CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

A "Christian Conference for Peace" convened in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and called for a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. The conference, held July 8-9, was attended by about 900 delegates from 90 countries.

Palestine was represented by a delegation headed by Father Ibrahim Ayyad and included Hilarion Capucci, the Archbishop of Jerusalem who was imprisoned and later deported from Palestine by the Israeli occupation authorities. It also included Dr. Eugene Makhoul, the PLO representative in Sweden, and Dr. Afif Safieh, a Palestinian professor in Belgium.

The conference also received a message from PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat who accused Israeli aggression, and U.S. support for it, of destabilizing the Middle East and threatening it with frequent wars. The Palestinian people, he said, will continue their struggle for peace and justice in the area.

In its closing statement, the conference approved a resolution on Palestine which called for the withdrawal of Israel's occupation forces and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza with Jerusalem as its capital. □



Father Ibrahim
Ayyad

ISRAEL: BOTH HANDS IN THE COOKIE JAR

Israel, whose population is infinitesimal compared with the world's population, receives more economic and military aid from the United States than any *region* in the world. Moreover, unlike other recipients of U.S. aid, Israel gets it all in the form of nonrepayable grants. The guns and the butter are both gifts from Uncle Sam, or rather from his overburdened descendants—the American taxpayers.

According to the recently released State Department's Special report No. 128 of May 1985, entitled "Foreign Assistance Program: FY 1986 Budget and 1985 Supplemental Request," Israel will receive from the 1986 U.S. budget a regular grant of \$3 billion, more than Europe (\$2.077 billion for 10 countries), more than the American republics (\$1,908 billion for 24 countries and 4 regional organizations), more than Africa (\$1,264 billion for 44 countries and 5 regional organizations), and more than East Asia and the Pacific (\$818 million for 12 countries and one regional organization).

Given the degree to which Israel has been allowed to dig with both fists into the American cookie jar, one would expect it to be less troublesome for U.S. policy in the Middle East. Its rejection of the Reagan peace initiative of September 1982, its annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and its program of settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza are examples of

instances when Israel thumbed its nose at declared U.S. policy objectives. It is now doing the same thing in the matter of U.S. dialogue with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

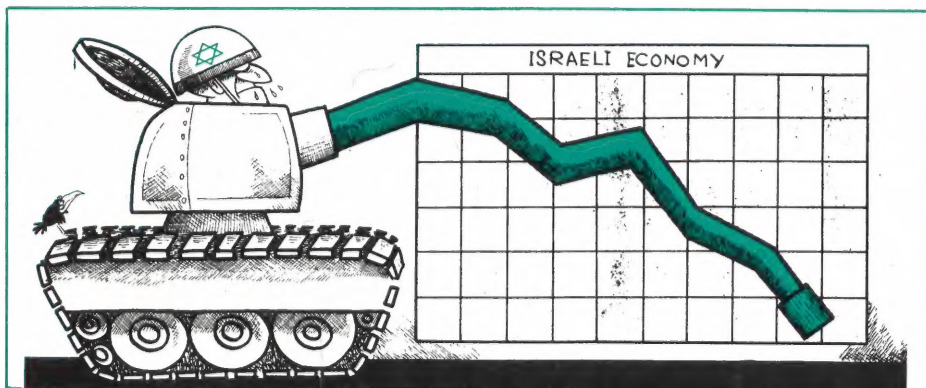
Hearing all the commercials about America's great asset in the Middle East, one is bound to tremble at the thought of how troublesome and costly Israel would have to get before it is recognized for what it really is: America's most onerous and risky liability in the world.

Of course, regular budgetary allocations for Israel do not tell the whole story, because Israel comes back for more. In 1985, the bonus amounted to \$750 million. There is also a hidden burden, in the form of lost revenues due to tax deductible contributions collected in this country by Zionist organizations.

The bottom line is that every single Israeli is subsidized by about \$1,000 a year by the United States.

Those who complain about the cost of the welfare program for needy U.S. citizens should consider the fact that the American welfare system also covers the state of Israel—its poor, its businessmen, and its generals. Israel is the costliest "entitlement" program financed by the American taxpayer.

Moreover, U.S. policy exempts Israel from the general rule applicable to all other recipients of American aid. Aid to Israel is not made conditional on its behavior. It has been made clear frequently that the U.S. would not use its aid to Israel to ensure Israeli policy responsive to U.S. wishes or interests. Israel's lobbyists in America have made support for aid to Israel the litmus test of political legitimacy in the U.S. Congress. Politicians—even when they are provoked into being critical of Israel—continue to give unquestioning, increasing, and unconditional assistance to it. It has become the main irrationality in contemporary American foreign policy. □



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